

## LABOR AND SOCIALISM.

## THE VICTORY FOR CONSERVATISM WON AT THE CARDIFF TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Cardiff, September 5. A trades-union congress in the United Kingdom is a babel of English dialects. There is one language, but it is spoken in many tongues. The Staffordshire potters have their own harsh, sibilant manner of speech, which is utterly unlike either the broad Yorkshire accent or the Lancashire twang. The eastern counties have marked peculiarity of dialect, and the cockney inflection is the sign of the London workman. The Devonshire is one of the strangest and raciest of the southern tongues, but even more characteristic and uncompromising is the dialect of the midland counties. Among the educated classes this medley of northern, southern and midland languages has been reduced to a common stock, but the workers in coal-pit, forge and factory cling tenaciously to their homely, familiar twang and accent. When speaking under pressure of excitement they involuntarily broaden the sounds of vowels and overaccentuate their dialect peculiarities for the sake of emphasis. A debate in a labor congress is unlike a discussion in any other deliberative body in England. Every speaker shouts, shrieks and howls in his own dialect, and flings his arms wildly from side to side as though he were alternately wielding a fall and cracking a whip.

The trades-union congress met in a convenient but commonplace assembly hall, lighted by seven long windows on each side. The floor of the hall was occupied by five tables, at the ends of which three hundred delegates were comfortably seated. The tables were covered with dark red cloth, and this was almost the only touch of color in the hall. The platform was uncarpeted, and behind the presiding officer's table seven tiers of benches rose one upon another in the direction of a great organ. Around the hall ran a broad gallery with ample accommodation for the spectators. It was a sombre place, with a murky white ceiling and dingy decorations, and the acoustic properties could hardly have been worse; but the delegates were indifferent to all conditions of environment. They were men intensely interested in the work of the congress and in the struggle between the two factions for the control and direction of the destinies of the trades-union movement.

## A MILLION WORKERS REPRESENTED.

There were between three hundred and four hundred of them, but they represented over a million workers of every handicraft in Great Britain. With few exceptions they were stalwart, broad-chested men, with long arms, large hands and deeply lined faces; and they pitched their voices high when they spoke and emphasized every sentence with strong gestures. They were incisive and racy debaters, striking out from the shoulder and hitting with all their might, but generous in their applause of opponents and always ready to laugh heartily whenever there was a humorous turn in the discussion. Women were among the delegates as representatives of workers of their own sex, but they took no part in the noisy, exciting debates which followed the opening of the congress. The delegates were plainly dressed, the majority of them in light suits and the minority in black coats, much the worse for wear. There were strong faces among them, and some fine models for the slinky, staid English workman.

The first trades-union congress was held twenty-seven years ago in Manchester, the nursery of free-trade Liberalism. A Royal Commission had been appointed to investigate the regulations and operations of trades-unions, and thirty-four delegates, representing about 120,000 workers, adopted measures for securing a permanent form of organization. Every subsequent congress was a larger and more representative body than the one which had preceded it. It was not long before the leaders introduced politics and suggested labor representation in Parliament as a prominent feature of the policy of the unions; but the earliest traditions of the movement were neither sectional, nor partisan, nor Socialistic. The delegates to the annual congress were wage-earners and not politicians; and they represented the interests of labor as a whole.

As time passed two great sections battled for supremacy, the Old Unionists and the New Unionists. The conservatives were loyal to the best traditions of the organization. The radicals advocated the nationalization of the land as an essential part of the trades-union programme. Beginning at Liverpool, with only fifty votes in favor of the nationalization of land and all the means of production, distribution and exchange, the New Unionists were in minority at Glasgow in 1852 by only twenty-five votes. First at Belfast and again last year at Norwich, under the leadership of Mr. Hardie, they succeeded in carrying a Collectivist resolution by a large majority. A crisis in the history of the organization had come. This great council of British wage-earners was either to be reorganized by the conservatives on the original lines, or else to be transformed into a formidable agency of Socialism or Collectivism.

## WEAPONS FROM THE NEW UNIONISTS.

In their hour of triumph at Norwich, Mr. Hardie and the New Unionists armed their adversaries with weapons for regaining control of the organization. They passed a resolution giving the Parliamentary Committee power either to revise or to make some slight changes in the standing orders so as to facilitate the work of the congress. The scope of the resolution was not generally understood, and the records of the Norwich congress failed to explain it. The New Unionists, when they found themselves outmaneuvered and in a minority, asserted that it was merely an instruction to the Parliamentary Committee to rearrange the programme of the congress so that topics might be grouped and referred for consideration to grand or sectional committees. The Old Unionists, when they discovered their opportunity for revolutionizing the congress, accepted it as a general warrant for a radical revision of the standing orders, and for enforcing the new rules without first submitting to the legislative body for approval.

The New Unionists were literally "hot" by their own petard, and a harmless, non-explosive thing it seemed when it was flung into the arena by Mr. Hardie. The Old Unionists, on the other hand, made a most disastrous use of the revision resolution, and won a victory for conservatism by processes which were distinctly revolutionary. The Parliamentary Committee, having revised the standing orders, was evenly divided on the question of enforcing them without reference to the approval of the Cardiff congress. Six members voted in favor of the proposition and six against it. The chairman of the committee, David Holmes, with John Burns as promoter, then gave his casting vote in the affirmative, and the new standing orders were enforced in the organization of the congress, delegating of trades councils and small unions being excluded. It was an ingenious method of kerry-mandering.

The battle between the factions opened on the second day of the session, when J. H. Wilson, one of the labor representatives in Parliament, and a logical, persuasive speaker, moved an amendment condemning the action of the new standing orders presuming to enforce the congress. Hour after hour the debate was continued, every speaker being repeatedly interrupted by questions and points of order, and the increasing steadily. The and in the galleries increasing John Jenkins, a presiding officer was Councillor John Jenkins, determined to enforce the new rules, and a resolute, determined man who never allowed himself to be overmaneuvered. He was barely more than forty, with black hair and dark eyes and a strong face, with firmness and persistence revealed in every

line. A labor congress needs a chairman of imperturbable coolness and invincible courage, and one who in a crisis can stand like a rock and wait unmoved until the surges of passion and excitement subside. Councillor John Jenkins was an ideal chairman for the most important session in the history of organized British labor.

## SPEAKERS IN THE GREAT DEBATE.

Among the men who took part in this great debate was Benjamin Pickard, a member of Parliament, who was working underground in a Yorkshire coal pit when he was a lad of twelve. He looked like a collier, with his shaggy beard and broad, massive shoulders, but when he spoke he had the sonorous drone of a Wesleyan preacher. Another pitman was Mr. Woods, the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, a keen-eyed, sharp-faced, gray-haired man, who had been the leader of a great coal strike in the

Midlands. Alderman Tillett was one of the smallest and most boyish figures in the congress, with a smooth face and long hair, but with a bellowing voice which could be heard from the remotest corner of the gallery. Born in Bristol, he had been a jack of all trades, working in brickyards, coalpits, shoeshops and fishing-smacks, and finally taking a prominent part in the great London dock strike, standing for Parliament, lecturing on the labor question at Oxford and Cambridge, preaching labor sermons in Congregational churches and standing trial in his native town for inciting a riot on charges which were not sustained by evidence. An aggressive debater was this London Councillor, as he stood on the platform shouting until he was hoarse, brandishing his arms and denouncing John Burns as the champion of the aristocracy of labor.

A quieter and more effective speaker was Mr. Inskip, who declined to quibble over the constitutional questions raised by the critics of the Parliamentary Committee, and arranged the political agitators who were indifferent to the interests of labor and only anxious to advertise themselves. A reorganization of the congress, in the judgment of this cool, practical, conservative trades-unionist from Leicester, had become an imperative necessity, and the committee had accomplished a great work of reform in revising the standing orders.

The debate in its final stage became a duel between two of the most influential labor leaders, both members of Parliament—Henry Broadhurst and John Burns. Mr. Broadhurst made the more logical speech, discussing the action of the committee with moderation and good temper, and protesting against a usurpation of authority by which veterans like himself were excluded from the congress after standing by the cause of labor for a generation. He had a deep, rich voice, and knew how to use it, and his speech was illumined by flashes of humor which pleased friend and foe alike.

## JOHN BURNS REPLIES.

After this burly champion of the New Unionists had closed his argument with a really excellent appeal for tolerance and liberality, John Burns replied to him in a harsh, rasping voice, but with tremendous energy and force. He would be excluded like Mr. Broadhurst, if he had new standing orders were not set aside, but he had instigated the action of David Holmes, the chairman of the committee, in giving the casting vote, and he was personally responsible for the scheme of reorganization. It was his fight, and he was determined to win it. With stern face, flashing eyes and the manner of a man who was terribly in earnest, he advocated the adoption of a policy which would bring the congress again into touch with the workshop and make it a representative body of the millions of workers whose average wages were 30 shillings a week in ordinary times and nothing when they were unemployed. Mr. Burns was angrily interrupted and repeatedly called to order, but he had carefully prepared his closing passage, and could not be diverted from it. Although the uproar was tremendous, his voice rang out high above the tumult, and he was heard to the satisfaction of all.

When Mr. Wilson had closed the debate, a delegate asked if the vote was by representation or by show of hands. The chairman instantly replied: "You will vote according to the new standing orders." The standing orders had been suspended in order to allow the congress to discuss a resolution censuring the committee for enforcing them without authority, but as soon as a vote was reached the new rules were applied arbitrarily by the chair. At once there was general uproar. The ruling of the chair was challenged from every quarter of the house. A hundred delegates were on their feet shouting at once. Mr. Wilson angrily moved that the chairman should leave the chair, and there were supporting voices from all sides. There were loud cries of "Shame!" "Leave the chair!" and "Trickery!"

The chairman, meanwhile, was ringing a large hand bell and vainly endeavoring to restore order. He was a resolute man and was not to be intimidated by the threats of secession which were heard from various quarters. He forced the tellers to start on their rounds about the tables, and when the tumult had subsided, announced the results of the voting. According to representation there were 357,000 votes for the resolution and 604,000 against it. The committee had been triumphantly sustained and the Trades-Union Congress emancipated from the domination of Socialistic agitators and professional politicians.

## THE CONGRESS REDEEMED.

The effect of the new standing orders was to undermine the strongholds of the New Unionists. The trade councils were disfranchised; all representatives who were neither workers at their trade nor permanent union officials under salary were excluded, and, in place of the principle of "one man, one vote," proxy or plural voting was substituted. The new rules, by allowing one vote for each thousand workers represented, remitted the control of the congress to a few of the largest and most powerful trades-unions, notably the colliers, miners and textile workers. The decisive vote by which the action of the Parliamentary Committee was sustained by the congress was not taken by a show of hands, but on the basis of the number of workers actually represented by each delegate. The principle may have been a sound one for a labor council, but the methods by which it was introduced were certainly anomalous, if not revolutionary. A new constitution was enforced and put in practice before it had been adopted by the congress. The objects accomplished were salutary and necessary, but the means by which the end was attained could be justified only on the ground of expediency.

The effects of this revolution in the direction of conservatism were clearly illustrated on the following day when a motion amending the address of the Parliamentary Committee and declaring of the Parliamentary Committee and committee, having revised the standing orders, was evenly divided on the question of enforcing them without reference to the approval of the Cardiff congress. Six members voted in favor of the proposition and six against it. The chairman of the committee, David Holmes, with John Burns as promoter, then gave his casting vote in the affirmative, and the new standing orders were enforced in the organization of the congress, delegating of trades councils and small unions being excluded. It was an ingenious method of kerry-mandering.

link majority. The New Unionists, with their schemes of Socialism, had been sent to the 1897. The original character of the congress had been restored as a conference of trade-unionists, held for the purpose of considering questions relating to the welfare of wage-earners. It was a victory for conservatism, won by revolutionary processes.

## MRS. GERRY'S FUNERAL.

SIMPLE SERVICES IN TRINITY CHAPEL. CONDUCTED BY THE REV. DR. DIX. The funeral of Mrs. Hannah G. Gerry, widow of Thomas R. Gerry, was held yesterday morning in Trinity Chapel, in West Twenty-fifth-st., at 11 o'clock. The services were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Morison Dix, rector of Trinity parish, assisted by the Rev. Edward W. Nell, of the Church of St. Edward the Martyr, and the Rev. Dr. Vibert and Dunham. The professional hymn was "Rock of Ages," which was sung as the choir and clergy moved down the aisle to meet the funeral procession. The coffin was borne up the aisle as Dr. Dix read the sentences beginning "I am the resurrection and the life," and placed on the bier in front of the chancel rail.

The relatives present were Elbridge T. Gerry, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Gallatin and Mr. Gallatin's three grandchildren. Then came George P. Camman, General James B. Pearsall, a second cousin of Mrs. Gerry, L. V. Gilford and Dr. John N. Rock. In a separate building stood the colored servants, Clinton Roosevelt, a grandnephew of Mrs. Gerry, who also present, as was Robert G. Gould, Mr. O. H. Thon, Great Jehovah, and the burial was in the old St. Mark's burying ground, where the Gerry family vault is situated. Among those present at the funeral yesterday morning were: Archibald W. Winthrop, Alfred W. Wendell, Fortnum Morris, Colonel John D. Tawinsend, Mrs. Crunkshaw and Mrs. John D. Hall.

## MR. MANSFIELD TO GO AWAY.

HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ACT WITH SAFETY BEFORE THE MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER. Richard Mansfield's representative, W. A. McConnell, yesterday authorized the publication of the following letter: New-York, September 17, 1895.

This is to certify that Mr. Richard Mansfield, a sick with typhoid fever, is unable to attend to any professional duties before the middle of November without injury to his health. No. 8 West Forty-ninth-st.

Mr. Mansfield will remain at his home in New-York for two weeks longer, and then Mrs. Mansfield hopes to take him away to the Berkshire Hills for at least a month.

Mr. McConnell said yesterday, "has already cost Mr. Mansfield over \$20,000. We have had to cancel his September, October and November dates, and any one knowing the terms that Mr. Mansfield received through the agency of Pearsall that he is not a figure head. Then, again, Mr. Mansfield's hand should be at the helm of the Puff Opera Company, a new comic opera by Pearsall, where his aid is invaluable. The members of the stock company will receive one-third of the profits of the Puff Opera, which will be at the Chestnut Street Opera House, Philadelphia, on October 7 for two weeks, and by the Puff Opera Company, a new comic opera by Pearsall, where his aid is invaluable. The members of the stock company will receive one-third of the profits of the Puff Opera, which will be at the Chestnut Street Opera House, Philadelphia, on October 7 for two weeks, and by the Puff Opera Company, a new comic opera by Pearsall, where his aid is invaluable. 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